



i2. (E940)

AN: D880131-0515

DECLASSIFIED BY STATE		RFP/PC/NCR	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> DECLASSIFY	() DECLASSIFY	by _____	Today _____
<input type="checkbox"/> Denial	() Discontinue	to _____	
<input type="checkbox"/> Confidential	() Pass		
<input type="checkbox"/> Sensitive Non-Responsive Info			
ALL Exemptions _____		() Other _____	
A Exemptions _____		() Date _____	

INFO	LOG-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	INR-10	SS-00	CIAE-00	EB-00
DODE-00	H-01	MSC-01	IO-19	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	COME-00	
HA-09	L-03	TRSE-00	PM-10	PA-01	OMB-01	INRE-00	
OES-09	ACDA-12	USIE-00	SP-02	SNP-01	C-01	PRS-01	
P-02	T-01	/085 W					

P 161126Z FEB 88
FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9859
INFO CSCE COLLECTIVE

E.O. 12356: DECL:QADR
TAGS: CSCE, PHUM, PARM, OREP (LEVIN, CARL)
SUBJECT: CODEL LEVIN MEETING WITH SOVIET CSCE CHIEF

2. SUMMARY: DURING THE VIENNA VISIT OF CODEL LEVIN ON FEBRUARY 9, SENATORS LEVIN AND SHELBY, ACCOMPANIED BY AMBASSADOR ZIMMERMANN, MET WITH SOVIET CSCE AMBASSADOR KASHLEV. LEVIN RAISED THE CASE OF RAOUL WALLENBERG, URGING MOSCOW TO TAKE A FRESH LOOK AT EVIDENCE WHICH CONTRADICTS OFFICIAL SOVIET STATEMENTS THAT HE DIED IN 1947. KASHLEV REVIEWED THE STANDARD SOVIET LIST OF PROBLEM AREAS IN THE VIENNA MEETING, INCLUDING REFERENCE TO CDE RESUMPTION AND DUAL CAPABLE SYSTEMS IN MILITARY SECURITY, TRADE BARRIERS (COCON) IN BASKET II, AND THE NEED FOR THE WEST TO BE REALISTIC ON BASKET III DEMANDS. THE SENATORS STRESSED FREEDOM OF RELIGION AND THE NEED TO RESTRICT THE USE OF KNOWLEDGE OF STATE SECRETS AS A BARRIER TO EMIGRATION. KASHLEV SAID MOSCOW WAS IN THE CONFIDENTIAL

PROCESS OF SETTING AN UPPER TIME LIMIT (5-10 YEARS) FOR

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

THE SECRECY BARRIER. HE ALSO SAID THE USSR COULD ACCEPT SPECIFIC DEADLINES FOR PROCESSING OF CERTAIN TRAVEL APPLICATIONS. END SUMMARY.

3. SENATOR LEVIN OPENED THE MEETING BY APPEALING TO THE SOVIETS TO TAKE A FRESH LOOK AT EVIDENCE THAT RAOUL HALLENBERG DID NOT DIE IN 1947 AS THE SOVIETS CLAIM. POINTING TO HALLENBERG'S IMPORTANT WORK AGAINST THE NAZIS IN WORLD WAR II, AND THE FACT THAT THE SWEDISH NATIONAL HAD BEEN MADE AN HONORARY AMERICAN CITIZEN, LEVIN STRESSED THAT IT WOULD BE VERY HELPFUL IF THE SOVIETS COULD FIND A WAY OF GETTING INFORMATION TO US ABOUT HIS CIRCUMSTANCES AFTER 1947. LEVIN POINTED TO REPORTS FROM AS LATE AS THE 1970'S THAT HALLENBERG HAD BEEN SEEN IN THE SOVIET UNION. KASHLEV SAID HE COULD ONLY REAFFIRM GROMYKO'S STATEMENT THAT HALLENBERG DIED IN 1947, BUT PROMISED TO REMIND MOSCOW OF CONTINUED U.S. INTEREST IN THE CASE. KASHLEV POINTEDLY REFERRED TO GROMYKO'S PERSONAL ROLE IN THIS ISSUE.

4. IN RESPONSE TO LEVIN'S QUESTION ON KEY PROBLEM AREAS IN THE VIENNA MEETING, KASHLEV REVIEWED DIFFICULTIES IN ALL THREE BASKETS. ON MILITARY SECURITY, KASHLEV INSISTED ON THE NEED FOR AN EXPLICIT REFERENCE TO DUAL CAPABLE SYSTEM IN THE MANDATE FOR CONVENTIONAL STABILITY TALKS. DESPITE THIS PROBLEM, KASHLEV FELT CONFIDENT THAT AGREEMENT COULD BE REACHED ON THE MANDATE WITHIN A FEW MONTHS. KASHLEV ALSO QUESTIONED WESTERN RELUCTANCE TO AGREE TO THE RESUMPTION OF CDE AND TO REAFFIRM THE CONTINUING VALIDITY OF THE MADRID MANDATE.

5. ON BASKET II, KASHLEV SAID PROVISIONS ON ABOLISHING
CONFIDENTIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 VIENNA 01713 01 OF 02 161129Z

ARTIFICIAL TRADE BARRIERS IN SWISS COORDINATOR CLAVEL'S PAPER WERE VERY WEAK. POINTING TO THE PENTAGON'S HAVING A SEAT IN BASKET II (REFERENCE TO OCCASIONAL OSD VISITOR HARLAN STRAUSS), HE COMPLAINED THAT THE U.S. POSITION WAS PARTICULARLY UNHELPFUL ON THIS ISSUE. COCOM RESTRICTIONS CONTRADICTED EFFORTS IN CSCE TO EXPAND COOPERATION IN TRADE AND SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY; THE STRICTER RULES ADOPTED AT THE LAST COCOM MEETING WERE A STEP BACKWARDS. SEN. SHELBY DEFENDED U.S. REFUSAL TO EXPORT TECHNOLOGY WITH WIDESPREAD MILITARY APPLICATIONS TO THE EAST, AND

CONFIDENTIAL

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

QUESTIONED WHETHER THE USSR WOULD BE WILLING TO EXPORT ITS MILITARY SENSITIVE TECHNOLOGY.

6. ON BASKET III, KASHLEV ARGUED THAT THE VIENNA MEETING HAD ALREADY GONE SEVERAL STEPS BEYOND RESULTS ACHIEVED IN MADRID. HE SAID THE SOVIET UNION COULD AGREE TO SPECIFIC DEADLINES FOR REVIEW OF CERTAIN TRAVEL APPLICATIONS, E.G., THREE DAYS FOR REQUESTS TO ATTEND FUNERALS OF RELATIVES ABROAD. (NOTE: SUCH PROVISIONS HAVE NOT YET BEEN AGREED IN BASKET III, HOWEVER.) THE USSR COULD ALSO ACCEPT SOME ELEMENTS OF THE WEST'S PROPOSED MECHANISM ON THE HUMAN DIMENSION, INCLUDING GOVERNMENT MEETINGS AND EXCHANGES OF INFORMATION.

7. SOVIET LEGISLATION IMPOSED CERTAIN LIMITS ON WHAT KASHLEV COULD ACCEPT IN VIENNA, HOWEVER. WITH REGARD TO EMIGRATION, THE RIGHT TO LEAVE WAS ENSHRINED IN THE INTERNATIONAL COVENANTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS, BUT THIS WAS HEDGED WITH CERTAIN CAVEATS (INCLUDING RESTRICTIONS BASED ON POSSESSION OF STATE SECRETS). SINCE BOTH ELEMENTS OF THE COVENANTS WERE ENSHRINED IN SOVIET LEGISLATION, KASHLEV STRESSED THAT LANGUAGE ADOPTED IN VIENNA HAD TO INCLUDE REFERENCE TO THE CAVEATS AS WELL.

8. SEN. LEVIN SAID THE PROBLEM WAS EXCESSIVE SOVIET USE

CONFIDENTIAL

UNCLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

UNCLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 VIENNA 01713 02 OF 02 161129Z
ACTION EUR-00

INFO LOG-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-00 CIAE-00 EB-00
DODE-00 H-01 NSC-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 COME-00
HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PH-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00
DES-09 ACDA-12 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01
P-02 T-01 /085 W
-----000506 161347Z /49 41

P 161126Z FEB 88
FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9860
INFO CSCE COLLECTIVE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 VIENNA 01713

FROM USDEL CSCE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: CSCE, PHUN, PARM, OREP (LEVIN, CARL)
SUBJECT: CODEL LEVIN MEETING WITH SOVIET CSCE CHIEF

OF THE SECRECY BARRIER TO DENY EXIT PERMISSION. HE CITED A DIVIDED SPOUSE CASE WHERE THE APPLICANT HAD BEEN DENIED SOLELY BECAUSE SHE HAD TAKEN A FEW PHYSICS COURSES IN COLLEGE. AMB. ZIMMERMANN SAID THE U.S. WOULD BE MORE WILLING TO ACCEPT LANGUAGE WHICH REPEATED THE CAVEAT ON SECRECY IF THE USSR DEMONSTRATED A READINESS TO RESTRICT OR ELIMINATE INTERNAL ABUSE OF SUCH RESTRICTIONS.

9. KASHLEV POINTED TO A DIRECTIVE ISSUED BY GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV TO SOVIET MINISTRIES PROPOSING A TIME LIMIT OF 5 TO 10 YEARS FOR EXIT DENIAL BASED ON POSSESSION OF STATE SECRETS. MINISTRIES WERE NOW IN THE PROCESS OF ANALYSING THE POSSIBILITY OF IMPOSING SUCH A UNIFORM STANDARD. AT PRESENT EACH MINISTRY WAS FREE TO SET ITS OWN REGULATIONS. KASHLEV CAUTIONED AGAINST EXTERNAL PRESSURES TO SPEED UP THE PACE OF REFORMS IN THE
CONFIDENTIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 VIENNA 01713 02 OF 02 161129Z

SOVIET UNION. IT WAS TOO SERIOUS A PROCESS AND ONE HAD TO WAIT UNTIL THE TIME WAS RIPE FOR CHANGE IN THE USSR.

UNCLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

UNCLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

10. SEN. LEVIN ALSO STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOMS, URGING IN PARTICULAR THAT THE SOVIETS LIFT RESTRICTIONS ON THE TEACHING OF HEBREW. LEVIN POINTED OUT THAT MANY JEWS DID NOT WANT TO EMIGRATE AND ARGUED THAT RESTRICTING THE PRACTICE OF RELIGION ONLY HURT THE SOVIET UNION. SEN. SHELBY POINTED OUT THAT THE MAJORITY OF SOVIET SCIENTISTS WERE OF JEWISH BACKGROUNDS; RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION ONLY PROMOTED DESIRES TO EMIGRATE AND THUS FUELED THE "BRAIN DRAIN". SOME DEMOCRATIZATION IN THIS AREA COULD ONLY HELP THE SOVIET UNION. KASHLEV SAID HE COULD PERSONALLY AGREE WITH SUCH STATEMENTS, BUT AGAIN POINTED OUT THAT REFORMS TOOK TIME, PARTICULARLY IN THE FIELD OF LEGISLATION.

ZIMMERMANN

CONFIDENTIAL

UNCLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL